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OUR BRAINWASHED PRESS

Powers' aftermath: Will America learn a warning lesson?

By Robert E. Light

FRANCIS GARY POWERS, the Virginia pilot who earned $2,500 a month from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, will spend the next three years in a Soviet jail and up to seven years after that assigned to special tasks in restrictive custody within Soviet borders. His sentence may be reduced by one-third for "honest behavior," and he may be granted clemency by the Supreme Soviet. Under Soviet law, he could have gotten 15 years in jail, or death, for spying.

To President Eisenhower the sentence was "severe." Democratic Presidential nominee Sen. John F. Kennedy called it "extremely harsh." He said that the trial proved Powers was "only carrying out his duty."

Most U.S. newspapers reflected the official Washington view, but most of the rest of the world seemed to get Moscow's message: Spy flights over its territory increased the dangers of nuclear war.

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Nations which provided the U.S. with bases for these flights shared the responsibility. As pilot of the plane, Powers was guilty of espionage, but the main responsibility rested in Washington.

THE ABEL CASE: Caught red-handed, the U.S. strained to defend its action and portray Moscow as the culprit. Washington argued that the U-2 flights were necessary for defense. Before the trial Powers was depicted as "brainwashed." Moscow was accused of putting on a "show trial" for propaganda purposes.

But the complaints against Moscow's handling of the case rang hollow against the U.S. treatment of alleged spies. In 1957 Rudolph Abel was arrested and charged with being a Soviet spy. He was questioned for five days without sleep, immediately after his arrest. Later he was interrogated daily for three weeks by the FBI to get him to defect. He was not arraigned until seven weeks after his arrest.

Abel's trial lasted three weeks; Powers' trial lasted three days. Abel pleaded innocent; Powers pleaded guilty. Abel was sentenced to 30 years in jail. He is still there.

THE ROSENBERG CASE: Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell were convicted of "conspiracy to commit espionage" in an atmosphere of cold war hysteria. The Rosenbergs protested their innocence to the moment they were executed in 1953.

David Greenglass, even though he was a government witness against his sister, Ethel Rosenberg, was given a 15-year sentence. He is still in jail.

Morton Sobell, against whom there was only one witness, was sentenced to 30 years in jail. He has already been in prison for ten years and he continues to protest his innocence. Despite repeated appeals for clemency for Sobell, President Eisenhower has not acted.

President Eisenhower griped at the Soviets' admission of "politics" into the Powers trial. But when Judge Irving Kaufman sentenced the Rosenbergs and Sobell he accused them of having caused the death of thousands of American soldiers in Korea.

Powers' family and friends—wife, parents, sister, physicians, lawyers and advisors—were admitted to the trial and were treated with great courtesy. Sobell's wife and mother, on the other hand, have been given the run-around by scores of officials.

THE ALL-OUT PRESS: In a seemingly collusive effort to take a patriotic stance behind Washington, U.S. newspapers outdid themselves in trying to place Moscow in the dock. Much of the press treatment bordered on the ludicrous.

Many newspapers sought to discredit Powers in advance. Leon Dennen, an old horse in the anti-communist word war, in a story syndicated by Newspaper Enterprise Assn., said that unnamed UN diplomats believed that "Khrushchev needs a show trial for internal purposes—perhaps in preparation of a new series of purges."

The Scripps-Howard New York **World-Telegram** ran a long series on "communist brainwashing techniques." In one story (Aug. 11) Richard Starnes wrote:

(Continued on Page 5)

LEST WE FORGET: THE MAN ON AMERICA'S CONSCIENCE

EVEN AS FRANCIS GARY POWERS was being sentenced in Moscow to 10 years on a guilty plea of espionage, Morton Sobell was ending his 10th year in prison on a 30-year sentence following a conviction for conspiracy to commit espionage—a charge which he has steadfastly insisted is untrue. In the continuing fight to free Sobell, the National Lawyers Guild at its 1960 convention in July in San Francisco urged the President to commute Sobell's sentence to the time now served. On Aug. 17 a petition asking freedom for Sobell was sent to the U.S. Pardon Attorney by 255 Chicago ministers and rabbis. Will you add your voice and ask your friends to do so?

Danger: Omnibus witch-hunt bill near vote in Congress

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

ANTI-CIVIL LIBERTIES legislation undermining the Supreme Court decision in the Kent-Briehl passport case and making other inroads on the Bill of Rights stands at the point of final passage by Congress. S-2652, sponsored by Sens. Thomas B. Dodd (D-Conn.) and Kenneth Keating (R-N.Y.) was reported favorably by the Senate Judiciary Committee on June 30 and is now on the Senate calendar for consideration. The Dodd-Keating bill would:

- Restore authority to the State Department to deny passports for political reasons. The section parallels HR 9069, passed Sept. 8, 1959, by the House.
- Broaden the interpretation of the word "organize" under the Smith Act so as to extend application of law and upset the limitations established by the Supreme Court in the Yates decision. This provision duplicates HR 2369 passed in the House March 2, 1959.
- Enlarge the categories of people who must register as foreign agents, as provided in HR 6817, passed by the House Aug. 31, 1959.
- Widen application of the U.S. Code on espionage. This duplicates HR 1992 enacted in the House March 3, 1959.

BIG PUSH IS ON: This omnibus anti-democratic bill which combines measures already passed by the House is being vigorously pushed. If it is passed, the Congressional witch-hunters can chalk up a major victory against the Supreme Court and their inquisitional committees will get a new lease.

On Aug. 10, Sen. Frank Lausche (D-O.) on the Senate floor demanded restoration of passport restrictions. He was joined by Sens. Roman L. Hruska (R-Neb.), Richard E. Russell (D-Ga.), and John J. William (R-Del.) who said: "There is no more important matter which can come before the Senate."

Again on Aug. 15 Sens. Hruska, Keating and Norris Cotton (R-N.H.) harangued at length on the need for restricting passports. Sen. Hugh Scott (R-Penn.), however, warned against giving the Executive branch such broad powers over passports. He said: "I do not believe that anyone in the State Department ought to have the right to say that he will not let anyone else go aboard for some reason which strikes him as important."

PROTEST IS NEEDED: While a number of other anti-civil liberties bills have passed the House and are pending in the Senate (GUARDIAN, May 2), the Dodd-Keating bill with its advanced status on the Senate calendar is the most likely to succeed. There is a chance that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which also has passport legislation before it, may block the Dodd-Keating measure on a jurisdictional basis.

The New York **Times** (July 5) editorially attacked S-2652 as an "extremist measure that insults the intelligence of the American citizen and traveler" with its "obnoxious . . . and ludicrous provisions." It is possible the Dodd-Keating bill will be allowed "to die quietly," as the **Times** suggests, if enough people write their Senators in opposition to this and other anti-civil liberties bills. Lacking such a popular expression, there is a real danger the bill may slip through in the last days of this Congress.

Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"It looks great on you, kid. Now why not drop that other junk?"

THE MAIL BAG

Editor-in-exile

COLLEGE POINT, N.Y.

It is a delight for me to receive your newspaper each week. It is quite a contrast to most of this country's papers which are literally full of propaganda.

Being a fairly new subscriber I notice that you list Cedric Belfrage as Editor-in-Exile. Could you possibly give a brief explanation of this so that I and other new GUARDIAN readers would know why this is so?

Patrick J. Presti

Cedric Belfrage, a co-founder of the GUARDIAN, was editor from the paper's inception in 1948 to 1955. In 1953 he was called, with James Aronson, before the McCarthy Committee and, at McCarthy's insistence, was arrested and held for deportation under the Walter-McCarran Act. The charge: that he had been a member of the Communist Party in 1937. The sole testimony came from a Hollywood informer. After three weeks on Ellis Island, three months in West St. Federal Detention Prison, and two years of costly court action, Belfrage left the U.S. in August, 1955, for England where he continues as Editor-in-Exile to write for the GUARDIAN. He has in the intervening five years visited and reported on dozens of countries, but he is barred from his adopted land where he lived and worked for a quarter of a century. He has written a book, The Frightened Giant, *which tells the deportation story.*—Ed.

Top secret

EL CAJON, CALIF.

Ike says every citizen should exercise his talents to help our government. Here is my contribution:

When Mr. CIA Dulles is questioned in a secret Congressional hearing, we are told his information is highly "classified." I believe that the information he gave regarding the U-2 incident must be classified because if truth were told quite openly, even the apathetic American people would rise in protest.

Robert Karger

The ownership class

WHEATFIELD, KAN.

Our land barons are on relief—think of it—our well-to-do citizens are on relief—more so than our hard-pressed have-nots! It is the large over-producers who are our big trouble-makers. Yet they are the darlings of our democratic government.

The small-to-moderate farmers are not guilty of overproduction—and they get practically no government support because they have no excess acres on which to collect support money.

Our government is run by **land-owning** lobbyists and **land-owning** law makers. This country has gradually drifted into the very pattern of an ownership class—such as existed in the Europe from which our forefathers fled.

Clarence Speyer

Strangling streets

NEW YORK, N.Y.

While there may be a struggle between capital and labor, we feel there is a struggle between pedestrians and vehicles for space, freedom of movement and safety.

The auto is tearing our cities apart, destroying public transit, killing and injuring millions, mostly very young and old. The private vehicle, besides causing smothering national air pollution, abrasive rubber, metal and road dusts and attendant littering, has cornered all road users into a captive audience by the roadside advertising industry. All this plus strangling motorist pedestrian traffic congestion!

For 15c we will gladly send a copy of our publication to your readers, or free for stamped addressed envelope.

J. Vickies
Pedestrian League
Box 1308, Church St. Sta.
New York 8, N.Y.

Answer: No!

HOLLYWOOD, FLA.

A friend of mine recently asked this question: "Wouldn't socialism destroy the individual urge to create and invent?"

The opposite is closer to all facts. In our own country in the last 20 years we have made more discoveries and inventions, working not individually but cooperatively in million-dollar laboratories, than in all past history. The individual inventor or creator, like the individual shoe maker (not repairer) is a thing of the past. Russia in 40 years, starting from scratch, is gradually catching up with our hundreds of years of progress. And the only reason is that they are working cooperatively.

But even the urge to create individually is greater under socialism than under our own free enterprise system. In the first place, no one creates anything when he is not free of our eternal worry "to make a living."

Socialism takes this stumbling block away from all individuals, gives them more leisure, and every opportunity and education to better their own creative desires. And many individuals get monetary rewards for improvements.

But even under our free enterprise system we have millions who create with no thought of monetary rewards. Our poets and artists are not only not "making any money" at their fields, but are losing money. Even in our free enterprise system we have thousands of individuals who forever invent, even though they know they cannot exploit their inventions, for under our laws, when they work for our government or in private industry, their inventions become the property of their employers, and the employers reap the full benefit of same.

Also, many of our workers feel that any improvement or increase in production will mean so much more unemployment. Under socialism the opposite is true.

Herman H. Sohn

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

You can "Sleep Well" tonight because throughout our country, National Guardsmen are standing by their NIKE missiles and supersonic jets, ready to defend America at a moment's notice.—Matchbook ad for the National Guard.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: R. B., Bloomington, Ind.

Boltinoff, London Evening Standard

"We took down the 'think' sign. Nobody was doing any work!"

New Hampshire calling

TAMWORTH, N.H.

I wonder if there are any GUARDIAN readers in New Hampshire who would be willing to help in the Dr. Uphaus case or help to clean the state of the corrupt politicians who have made the jailing of men like Dr. Uphaus or Hugo DeGregory (now free in bond) possible in violation of the state constitution. There are letters to write, posters to make, picketing to be done, as well as endless political work. If you feel you can help, please write to me. Extension of hospitality would also be of great help at many times. There is surely something you can do!

Irma C. Otto

Legacy

ERWIN, TENN.

Down in Durham, North Carolina, a Negro chauffeur, Sim Holloway, has recently died. Sim, well known to me personally, left ten children. Nothing remarkable in that, but what is remarkable is that every last one of them has gone through college. Can any GUARDIAN reader recall such a high family educational record? It seems especially noteworthy just now —with all the loose talk going around about "white supremacy."

Ernest Seeman

Questions on RB-47

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Here are some questions which should be answered in connection with the flight of our RB-47 Air Force reconnaissance bomber plane:

- If the plane was shot down outside the Soviet Union why was it not found during the huge ten-day search?
- Where did the Russians take prisoner the two crew members?
- How does the Defense Department know that "the plane made no deliberate attempt to fly over the Soviet Union?"
- Last, but not least: Was it really necessary that two months after the U-2 incident, six weeks after the President's statement that overflights have been suspended and will not be resumed, American reconnaissance bombers were flying near the U.S.S.R. border 9,000 miles distant from our shores, while we discuss reviving the Monroe Doctrine of 1823?

Ben H. Jones

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

WITH REGARD TO KOREA, Bob Considine of Hearst's International News Service cabled from Tokyo that he had yet to meet a reporter "who shared the optimism of Washington and Tokyo." Columnist Walter Lippmann and the **Wall St. Journal** looked with foreboding at the global implications of Korea for America's future. Commenting on University of Pennsylvania's president Harold Stassen's call for an atomic-backed ultimatum to Russia, the **Journal** said:

"It is singularly inappropriate to start talking about licking the Soviets when practically our entire available military force is unable to put the North Koreans in their place . . . . Specifically, the remedy for the extravagant danger and the military idiocy of a policy of world-wide commitments is to scale down the commitments to a point where they begin to be manageable . . . . That the foreign policy of the Truman Administration is and has been 'almost unbelievably confused and inefficient' we are not inclined to dispute. We only regret that the confusion is not confined there."

—From the National Guardian, Aug. 30, 1950

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REPORT TO READERS

The Congo and Cuba

THE OLD ORDER is putting up a tough if clumsy fight, but the new nations of the world are winning through in their struggles.

In the Congo affair, the West-dominated UN had its fingers burned trying to pull chestnuts out of the fire for the Belgian old order and, with no one else to front for it, Belgium has now agreed to get out of the Congo for good and all this week.

The Organization of American States brushed aside attempts of the U.S. to delay action against Trujillo's Dominican Republic for plotting the assassination of Venezuela's president, and voted to break diplomatic relations with Trujillo, to apply an arms embargo and individually to consider suspension of trade with him.

Next on the OAS agenda was the U.S.-sponsored move to censure Cuba, but at this writing no Latin-American minister was willing even to be chairman for the debate. Walter Lippmann commented in the principal U.S. Republican newspaper, the New York **Herald Tribune**, that "we would almost certainly be deluding ourselves if we expected collective action against Cuba's acceptance of Soviet and Chinese economic aid, against economic deals between Cuba and the Communist orbit, or against Communist ideology and propaganda." The world, and our hemisphere along with it, has moved along since the 1954 Caracas Resolution opened the way for U.S. catspaws to invade Guatemala.

THE CONGO'S DIFFICULTIES were not over, but at least the maneuverings against the new nation were out in the open. Premier Lumumba charged that the U.S., France and Britain were in secret accord to seek to keep the puppet province of Katanga under Belgian control for its uranium deposits. In the UN the Soviet delegates told the Security Council that plans were afoot for a "foreign legion" to be organized from the NATO countries, including Belgium, to hold Katanga after the Belgians move out. And the Congolese delegate told the Security Council that among the reasons for his country's getting tough with UN forces from Swedish, Canadian, Irish and other white troops was the discovery and arrest in Leopoldville of 70 Belgian paratroopers disguised as UN forces. Another reason was that Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold entered into dealing with Katanga leaving the central goveronment of Congo "in complete ignorance of the facts."

If the Belgians lingered in Katanga, Congo was ready to ask the UN out, and forces of Asian and African neutrals in.

IN ADVANCE of the meeting of the Organization of American States in San Jose, Costa Rica, Cuba's Minister of the Armed Forces Raul Castro stated that the ministers of the Latin American states would have the unsettling choice of either siding with Cuba and earning the displeasure of the U.S., or of doing the U.S. bidding and then having to face angry pro-Cuba populations at home. Headed by Foreign Minister Dr. Raul Roa, the Cuban delegation came to the OAS meeting loaded for bear, so much so that the Costa Rican security police frisked the delegation for side-arms. In the opening debate on the Dominican Republic, Dr. Roa demanded that the conference condemn not only Trujillo but the U.S. as well.

"'It is not just," he said, "to condemn Trujillo and not condemn the father of the child. The Dominican Republic is a legitimate child of U.S. intervention there 30 years ago."

The best U.S.'s Herter could think of in reply was that Roa's remark was "a direct parallel of speeches I have heard from representatives of the Soviet Union."

WHAT THE U.S. and most of the worried Latin American countries fear most is not Soviet intervention in our hemisphere, but that the Cuban revolution will prove to be catching in the other South and Central American and Caribbean states, where all but Venezuela and Argentina are below Cuba in per capita income—the lowest being Haiti at $70 per annum.

To frustrate sympathetic demonstrations in the host country, the Costa Rican security police worked overtime, and in one case, in their zeal to bar a demonstration from expressing its pro-Cuban sentiments, physically blocked Dr. Roa from entering his country's own Embassy. Dr. Roa wrestled himself from the soldiery and entered the embassy despite a chase by militia men brandishing batons.

The Costa Rican police were subsequently unsuccessful in silencing the pro-Cuban demonstration. The crowd sang revolutionary songs, shouted "Long Live Fidel Castro" and "Yankees out of Costa Rica"—and finally this crusher:

"Figueres, [Costa Rica's president], where is the country with more teachers than soldiers?"

Raul Castro's estimate of the ministers' dilemma was proving correct even before the session on Cuba began. **—THE GUARDIAN**

THE CONFLICT AT THE SIXTH CONFERENCE IN TOKYO

Militant spirit marks world anti-bomb parley

By John G. Roberts
Special to the Guardian

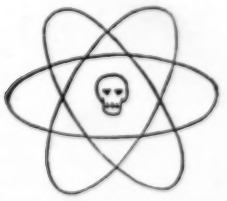
TOKYO

THE SIXTH WORLD Conference Against A- and H-Bombs and For Total Disarmament, with 111 delegates from 29 foreign countries and 10 international organizations participating, was held in Tokyo Aug. 2-9. Ten socialist countries were represented, as well as Australia, Great Britain, Canada, France, West Germany, Italy, New Zealand and the U.S.

At the main assembly there were more than 10,000 present, mostly from Japan, many of whom had come hundreds of miles on foot as part of the Peace March which converged on Tokyo from all parts of the nation. Along the various routes of the march it was estimated that more than 14,000,000 persons had participated. There were demonstrations outside American bases. At least 20,000 persons entered Tokyo on Aug. 5 at the climax of the march.

"CONFERENCE MILITANT": Keynoting the conference, Kaoru Yasui, chairman of the Japan Council Against A- and H-Bombs, said:

"I called the Fifth Conference a 'world conference amid the storm.' This year I dare to call the conference a 'world conference militant,' which will describe the determined spirit and the positive attitude of the delegates of the peace forces of the world . . . In this conference we will endeavor to establish the basic policy of the united struggle of the peace forces against the forces of war."



Last year, at Hiroshima, there was conflict as to whether to remain a purely "humanitarian" organization or to take a political position against the U.S.-Japan military alliance. This year, the conflict within the conference concerned the advisability of political involvement on a global scale against "the forces of war." Those forces were clearly specified as "the imperialist and colonialist forces led by the United States."

A DOWNHILL YEAR: The increased partisanship and militancy of the conference reflected the tensions created in the last year, which saw the hopeful atmosphere of the Khrushchev visit to the U.S. and the Spirit of Camp David dissipated by the U-2 incident and the Summit breakdown. It was a year in which anti-colonialism in Cuba and the Afro-Asian regions approached a critical stage; in which France exploded the A-bomb and in which the U.S. began passing out A-weapons. And, of course, recent events in Japan, centering on the Security Treaty and rising Japanese militarism, sparked the activities of the Japanese peace workers who fought so spectacularly against alliance with the U.S.

As the conference got under way, it was revealed that the U.S. submarine Grayback, equipped to fire nuclear rockets, was berthed at Yokosuka Naval Base. This caused much anger, despite denials that the sub had any nuclear warheads aboard. The new Security Treaty supposedly guarantees that the U.S. will not introduce nuclear weapons into Japan without "prior consultation"; but Japan's only protection is the word of the U.S. authorities.

Following closely the removal of U-2 planes from U.S. bases here and at a time when the armed forces of Japan are being trained in the use of nuclear weapons, the Grayback report stiffened the attitude of the conference. The contemptuous rejection by the State Dept. of China Premier Chou En-lai's proposal for a nuclear free zone in the Pacific did nothing to help matters.

THE CHINESE VIEW: However, the attitude of China toward such developments was an overriding factor in toughening the conference policy. Ringed by nuclear bases in hostile nearby countries, denied all commerce with eastern neighbors, and excluded from diplomatic relations and from the UN, the Chinese are not only restless but very angry. They see American imperialism as their most dangerous enemy. As Marxists they believe that imperialist capitalism must collapse from its inner contradictions; but they are not persuaded it will collapse before it brings atomic war crashing down on the world.

After an absence of two years, the Chinese sent a large delegation to the Sixth Conference. It was the presence of this group, led by Liu Ning-I, which influenced the conference most strongly.

Opposing the Chinese, who were apparently supported by the Japanese peace leaders, were delegates from capitalist nations, particularly France. They felt that the militant Chinese position would have an adverse effect except in socialist and colonial countries, and might increase the danger of nuclear war. The Soviet delegates maintained a rather neutral attitude. In the end the militants were able to put their stamp strongly on the final documents approved at the closing session Aug. 9.

THE POLITICAL MEANS: Since the origin of the Japan Council, sponsor of the conference, two tendencies have been in conflict. The originally dominant tendency was to make the conference as broad as possible by concentrating on humanitarianism and the perils of nuclear weapons. With a broad base of agreement, it was argued, the people could be gradually educated in the means of preventing nuclear tests and warfare. But there was rising pressure from those who believed that the breadth of the movement meant little if it could be achieved only at the cost of ignoring the political means by which nuclear arms could be abolished.

The latter group, with the strong support of the conference as a whole, are now in the driver's seat. The "enemies of peace" have been labeled as such and specific measures for fighting these enemies have been enumerated in the Tokyo Appeal, the Resolutions and the Recommendations for International Common Action. The campaign begun last year to bring political matters threatening the peace within the purview of the conference has finally succeeded in installing politics as a major concern.

THE END OF A JOURNEY
The peace marchers reach Tokyo

PEACE MARCHERS NEAR THE TACHIKAWA BASE IN A TOKYO SUBURB
Their feelings were plainly displayed in the signs they carried

WHAT THEY SAID: But despite seeming unity, the leftward direction of the movement aroused much private discussion. Here are some of the critical comments heard during and after the closing session:

- "This may be the last World Conference. The emphasis is shifting away from banning nuclear weapons themselves to an attack on the users."
- "The Chinese are becoming extremely nationalistic. They seem to think that continued imperialism makes war inevitable. Instead of emphasizing the danger of nuclear weapons, they now talk of their ability to survive nuclear attack."
- "Imperialism may be the enemy of peace, but the people of many countries are not prepared to accept such a slogan without more education."
- "To classify Japan as a victim of imperialism is to oversimplify the situation. Japan's monopolists are actually imperialists themselves, in alliance with those of the U.S. We must not repeat clichés but develop an adequate theory."

JAPANESE INFLUENCE: There was some justice in the point of view that the conference, rather than uniting the peace forces of the world, would serve to unite only that half of the world committed against imperialism, while those of the other half would be further alienated. Some ascribed this not so much to changing policy as to the basic weakness of a "world conference" which has been overwhelmingly Japanese and is, therefore, dominated by the advanced viewpoint of the Japanese Left, which is the wheel-horse of the peace movement.

As the more cautious peace organizations in countries engaged in the cold war against communism shy away from Japan, the delegations from the socialist countries gain the ascendancy by default.

The Japanese, in their recent struggles against the Security Treaty, have gained not only in political consciousness but in confidence and militancy. Thus they are more nearly on a level with the peace workers of the socialist countries. Hence, attempts by delegates from nations allied with Washington to urge on the conferees a more neutral position between East and West were futile. At the conference there was almost no criticism of the Chinese-Soviet Pact, or of Soviet nuclear missiles, a fact which, conference critics said, confirmed their opinion that the conference was pro-communist.

1959 AND 1960: However, a soft approach would have displeased most of the delegates and there was no assurance it would have satisfied the critics. The mild criticisms of the U.S.-Japan Treaty included in last year's resolutions brought on a storm of red-baiting. The Japan Council Against A- and H-Bombs, which hitherto had received government and municipal subsidies, was repudiated. The press grew more hostile; ultra-nationalists attacked the delegates physically; several foreign delegates walked out, and the City of Hiroshima refused to offer the city as host for 1960.

This year, as if by collusion, the Japanese press gave only perfunctory coverage to the event. An independent meeting was held in Hiroshima, attended by the Crown Prince. The Democratic Socialist Party and the Zenro labor federation announced a new organization to sponsor a competing conference, and the Tory Party officially denounced this year's proceedings even before a word had been spoken. The dominant position at the conference was that any large effective mass organization against nuclear weapons would be attacked both in Japan and the U.S.—regardless of its political program or lack of one—because both governments are determined that Japan shall be a nuclear-armed U.S. ally.

THE BASIC POINT: The whole controversy seems to boil down to one sobering fact: the anti-imperialist forces of the world, among whom the Chinese are taking firm leadership, seem to feel that the showdown between the oppressors and the oppressed, between imperialism and communism, will come sooner than we think. And while they continue to work for co-existence, they feel that continued threats and provocations could well result in nuclear war. They will not remain content with generalized expressions of hope or disapproval.

The demonstrations in China against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty were enormous, involving scores of millions of people; they were militant and full of hatred for the U.S. and Japanese Governments. By incredible effrontery, insults and implicit threats of invasion, even nuclear extermination, Washington has created a strong enemy, and has forced Japan to share that enmity. The enmity is spreading, and if the provocations continue, the restraining hand of the Soviet Union may not be able to temper it.

HALF A WORLD? There is much to be said for the ideal of a peace movement in which all the peoples of the world can join hearts and hands in a humanitarian appeal for the abolition of nuclear weapons. But such a movement has failed to materialize, and the Americans must accept a fair share of the blame.

Pleas for unity of the world's peace movements, incorporated in the statements and resolutions of the Sixth World Conference, show that the participants have not given up hope of joining hands. But they seem to have concluded, in these tense days, that half a world united against the forces of war and nuclear annihilation is far better than an ineffectual surface unity of a whole world.

THE FLN SAYS TIME IS UP

Algeria: The problem heads toward international debate

By Anne Bauer
Special to the Guardian

PARIS

OBJECTIVES are rarely irretrievably lost in politics, but opportunities may be. When the talks at Melun between the French Government and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic (PGAR) failed in June, the reasons for the failure were discussed less widely than the question of how, when and on what basis the talks with Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) would be resumed by Paris.

Since June, lightning changes on the international scene have changed the conditions for an Algerian settlement. The PGAR underscored this on Aug. 22 with a call for internationalizing the Algerian question—specifically a request for a UN referendum by means of which the Algerian people could vote for freedom. At the UN General Assembly this fall there will be strong pressure for a solution, influenced by these developments:

● The Congo events, whatever their ultimate outcome, will have a snowballing effect and make the world—and more particularly the under-developed countries—more sensitive to colonialism than ever before. The spread of national liberation movements in Africa is making it extremely hazardous for the West to keep any fires open for long anywhere on the continent. No Western state can afford openly to support colonialism without risking its world prestige. In addition, leading figures in North Africa are citing the entry of UN troops in the Congo and will ask the UN to render the same service in Algeria.

● "Having concentrated an immense Army in Algeria, France, with the material and political aid of the U.S., attempts to crush by force the national liberation movement of the Algerian people. The [Algerian Republic's] cause is just and sacred, and thanks to the aid of all Asian and African countries and the Soviet camp it will be victorious." This mid-July **Pravda** editorial hit Paris like a bolt of lightning. It clearly signalled a profound change in the Soviet Union's view of French Algerian politics. Till then, Moscow had apparently supported De Gaulle's self-determination offer of last September.

AFTER MELUN: Actually, the skies had begun to cloud over soon after the failure of the Summit last May. First under attack by Mr. K were Premier De Gaulle's stand on disarmament and his foreign policy. After the failure at Melun, the first **Pravda** editorial was followed by radio and press comment in a similar vein. Now, for the first time since the beginning of the Algerian war, **Pravda** is publishing FLN war communiques. But unlike Peking, Moscow still has neither recognized the PGAR nor officially received its representatives.

It seems sure that at the UN Assembly, the Soviet attitude on Algeria will reflect more of its recent stand in the Congo than of its benevolent pro-Algerian neutrality of the past.

CONGO EXAMPLE: The deterioration of East-West relations and the stiffening of Soviet foreign policy would normally tend to increase Western solidarity. But this is not the case in colonial problems. The Congo was a prime example. The desire to escape the colonialist label before world opinion will henceforth play a determining role in Western, and particularly U.S. attitudes. Faced with the difficult choice at the UN Assembly, the anti-colonialist reflex will come into play as the U.S. must decide how far to commit itself in favor of Paris and against the under-developed world, thus leaving the Soviet Union its only defender.

Till June, De Gaulle was to a large extent the master of his Algerian policy. He was openly encouraged by Washington and the West. He had Moscow's support. French public opinion favored his policy of self-determination. His personal prestige remained high in Algeria. When the Melun meeting began, hope was strong, up and down the ranks of the PGAR, that the first contacts would lead to real negotiation, with peace at the end of the road.

PROFOUND CHANGE: Today De Gaulle has none of these cards left. Washington is reluctant, Moscow openly hostile. French opinion feels let down. A profound discouragement has taken hold in Algeria. Inside the PGAR, where Prime Minister Bourgiba and the "soft" party had long and convincingly pressed for accepting a Paris meeting, the "hard" line is today dominant. And the new world events can only encourage it.

France has steadfastly refused to accept UN competence on the Algerian question, and its attitude is not likely to change. But this fall at the UN, the socialist world and the Asian and African countries will insist on an end to the six-year-old war. The West, confronted with the prospect of a continued conflagration point on the African continent, and the possibility of Chinese or Soviet appearance in that part of the world, may be reluctant to give De Gaulle another blank check on eternity.

THE SCENE IS NEW YORK—THE SENTIMENT IS CLEAR
The cops broke up this protest when De Gaulle came last spring

He listened but did not hear

Special to the Guardian

PARIS

AS IN THE DARKEST TIMES of the Algerian war, as though to stress that negotiations were over, executions of Algerians have started again in French prisons, and FLN terrorist reprisals in Algeria have begun completing the vicious circle.

Spectacular and symbolic, as executions were resumed, was the guillotining, at the Montluc Fortress in Lyon, on July 30, of FLN member Abderrahmane Laklifi. Premier Khrushchev, among many others, had vainly asked Premier de Gaulle to spare him. The day after Laklifi's execution, 13 men, women and children were killed by terrorist action on an Algerian beach. And on Aug. 12, two French soldiers were executed by the Algerians.

Laklifi, against whom membership in the FLN is the only known charge, was held incommunicado five days following his arrest and tortured. He was refused the assistance of his lawyer. The counsel appointed by the military court to replace him refused to plead. During the trial, Laklifi was expelled from the court room. The sentence was pronounced in the absence of the accused, and without a defense lawyer's intervention.

Five days before the execution, De Gaulle refused to see Laklifi's lawyer and received the court-appointed counsel instead. According to **Express**, the general's only comment to his visitor at the beginning were, "I am listening to you," and at the end, "I have heard you."

A TIGHT LITTLE PARADISE FOR THE PROFITEERS

British seamen's strike lifts the lid on a growing 'national scandal'

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THOUSANDS of U. S. summer tourists were left holding their bags by a "wildcat" seamen's strike which froze the Queen Mary and many other ships at British ports. The two-week strike collapsed on Aug. 22, but it may have been the beginning of a new wave of rank-and-file protests against super-profiting employers and complacent union leaders.

Hecker, N M U Pilot, New York
"Union ship?"

With dockworkers demanding a $3.50 raise on their basic weekly pay of $23.65, mass meetings and heavy extra police details were the August order of the day at every port. After a week, ten seamen were in jail for leading the strike. The seamen demanded a 44-hour week and an average raise of $2.80. Present basic pay runs from about $18 to $28 a week, and Seamen's Union leader Sir Thomas Yates settled for an average $1.70 raise. The seamen were also protesting against not being allowed shop-steward representation on the job, and against the law of 1894 under which they can still be jailed for "refusing lawful commands" in a strike.

THE "RED PLOT": A young crewman just returned from a two-month voyage to the U.S.—in a freighter so ancient that the engines broke down five times in mid-Atlantic—told the GUARDIAN that U.S. longshoremen were earning as much for one hour of overtime as he earned for two whole days with overtime.

At London docks he bought a "pro-Labor" paper with the banner headline: PORT STRIKE IS RED PLOT. The charge came from the seamen's own union leader Yates—a friend of the Cunard Line chairman—who told the **Sunday Pictorial:** "The strike is being organized by behind-the-scenes men . . . and PROFESSIONAL Communist agitators. They travel from industry to industry fomenting trouble."

Climaxing a march of 2,000 strikers, a meeting at South Shields ended with a vote of no confidence in Yates. A Liverpool meeting drew 1,800 seamen. A Glasgow picketer carried the sign: "Sir Tom retires to club—seamen to Barlinnie," referring to Barlinnie jail and the plush Club Miramba at Dover which Yates owns and where he had gone for the weekend in his Bentley. In a typical press comment, the **Daily Mail** called the strike "an attempt to disrupt the Merchant Navy—a national scandal."

LANDLORD'S PARADISE: Workers in most British industries see the scandal elsewhere. Under the Tories' "you-never-had-it-so-good" regime, after-tax dividends are rising four times as fast as wages. Raises now being offered—and accepted by union leaders—lag far behind the increase in profits and productivity. In the last two years, share prices have risen over 100%, and capital gains divided among about 1½ million shareholders exceeded $28 billion.

In the same period many workers have had no increase at all, except in the contributions they must pay for national insurance—and now in their rents for generally sub-standard housing. Under the Tories' rent-decontrol law of 1957, the "sky's the limit" period for landlords is approaching. With tenants being told to pay double or triple rents or get out in the coming months, even Tory MP's are making worried representations to the Housing Ministry to slow down the tightening of the screw.

In London's East End where many docker and seamen families live, "Help English Refugees" banners were spread last week over bathroom-less tenements whose landlords are about to triple the rents. Labor-dominated borough councils are holding emergency sessions to consider what can be done.

Eccles, London Daily Worker
"Any of you gentlemen here know how to make dough?"

Powers' aftermath

(Continued from Page 1)

"There is indeed no objective evidence that Mr. Powers is still alive, much less that he is in good mental and physical health. One must assume he is still alive since his presence will be needed at the trial."

In a post-trial editorial, the **World-Telegram** said piously: "To improve whatever chance he has to go free, we think United States officials might limit their remarks to whatever is absolutely necessary to protect the national interest. There has been far too much official comment on the case anyhow."

A MATTER OF CASH: Most other papers grudgingly admitted the "humaneness" of the sentence, although some continued to indict the U.S.S.R. for "propaganda." The Los Angeles **Times** editorial was pure cynicism: "We find that we cannot cry for [Powers]. He had a bad break, but he was well paid for taking chances. We find that our government couldn't buy exactly what it expected for $30,000 a year."

Others worried about Powers' candor on the witness stand. The Denver **Rocky Mountain News** said: "We agree some of the things he's said on the stand don't entirely become a proud American citizen. [But] we wonder if, in similar circumstances, any others of us would do any better. We hope so, but we wouldn't bet on it."

Some found a refreshing contrast between the Powers case and previous Soviet trials. The Louisville **Courier-Journal** said: "It [the trial] has shown the world that the manners of Soviet justice have improved immeasurably since the ghastly days of the Stalin purge trials."

GARY FRANCIS POWERS
Others were in the dock too

THE MOSCOW VIEW: Soviet press coverage was restrained. Moscow seemed to save its invective for its foreign language radio broadcasts. These singled out President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, Secy. of State Herter and CIA director Allen Dulles as the real culprits. They also emphasized the guilt of governments which permitted U.S. military bases in their countries.

Powers' trial opened Aug. 17, his 31st birthday, in the freshly painted Hall of Columns in the House of Trade Unions in downtown Moscow. About 2,000 persons were present, including 500 foreign diplomats and 300 reporters from all over the world. The trial was conducted in Russian and translated into English for Powers. Simultaneous translations into English, Chinese, French and German were provided for reporters through earphones.

After the indictment was read, Powers rose to plead guilty. He testified for five and one-half hours and for another hour and 20 minutes the next day. He outlined his mission and how he had come to sign up with the CIA. He insisted he was only following orders and that his superiors bore the responsibility for the flight.

Powers said he regretted "very much" what he had done. He was "profoundly" sorry because his flight had helped wreck the Summit conference.

Vicky, London Evening Standard

"I plead guilty!"

UNWASHED BRAIN: It was clear that he had neither been "brainwashed" nor "broken" (his father emphatically protested this view). He was mildly argumentative and would not be drawn beyond his position. When questioners sought to exploit a visit by Francis Cardinal Spellman to the U.S. base in Turkey where Powers was stationed, Powers held that Spellman was interested only "in the personnel."

Powers was followed by four residents of Sverdlovsk who testified to his capture, and nine experts who discussed technical matters concerning the U-2 and its photographic equipment.

The last day was devoted to summing up. The prosecution asked for the maximum prison sentence of 15 years. Powers' Soviet defense attorney, Mikhail Griniov, asked for a lesser penalty. Then Powers made a short plea. He said:

"I realize the Russian people think of of me as an enemy. I can understand that, but I'd like to stress the fact that I do not feel, nor have I ever felt, any enmity whatsoever toward the Russian people.

"I plead with the court to judge me not as an enemy, but as a human being who is not a personal enemy of the Russian people, who has never had any charges brought against him in any court and who is deeply repentent and profoundly sorry for what he's done."

EMPHASIS ON THE CRIME: The court (one judge and two "people's assessors") deliberated for four hours and 35 minutes. When the sentence was announced, a wave of applause swept the courtroom. Powers stood with his arms folded and showed no emotion. His wife and mother wept.

Throughout the case, the judges (who participated in the questioning), the prosecutor and the defense counsel emphasized the severity of the crime, but they held that those who sent Powers were more guilty than he. They also underscored that Powers' plane was shot down at 68,000 feet. Washington has insisted that the Soviets have no weapon to down a plane at that height.

The court emphasized the fairness of the trial and Powers' treatment in jail (the pilot was questioned on his treatment several times), seemingly anxious to show that the Soviet criminal code, rewritten two years ago, prevented miscarriage of justice.

THE "SPY CODE": American "man-in-the street" reaction, reported by several newspapers, seemed to reflect a distorted image. Many thought Powers had broken the "spy's code," depicted dozens of times in movies, by not killing himself. A luncheonette counterman told the New York **Times:** "He's a traitor to his country. He was paid to keep his mouth shut and he talked." Others thought he had gambled and lost and was lucky that the penalty was mild.

In Powers' hometown, Pound, Va., one man said: "He had to tell the truth . . . There was nothing else the man could do." On the other hand, a college student said: "His testimony doesn't sound as American as I think it should be."

Few sensed their own involvement. Almost no one quoted questioned the U-2 flights and the CIA's activity. The danger of the policy of brinkmanship, seemed not to penetrate—even in the face of Powers' repentance.

A "CONCRETE" MENACE: Few in the U.S. tried to reflect on the Soviet view laid out in the verdict: "Considering the modern level of military techniques, when certain states, possessing atomic and hydrogen weapons, are able to deliver them quickly to the target, the flight of an intelligence plane over Soviet territory could directly precede a military attack.

"The menace is even more concrete now that the United States of America, as stated by American generals, constantly keeps H-bomber patrols in the air, ready to strike at marked-out targets in the Soviet Union."

The prosecutor pointed out: "From the earth no one could tell whether or not this hostile plane . . . was carrying a deadly load."

WILL WE REFLECT? If Moscow scored propaganda points in the trial, the U.S. gave them the ammunition. In a sense President Eisenhower was the chief prosecution witness. His open boasts of the U-2 flights, and Vice President Nixon's assertion that they should continue, surely confirmed Powers' fate.

And if American officials fail to reflect on the amount of "security" which is gained by testing another nation's nerves with U-2 and RB-47 flights, then they will be confirming for themselves—and for the nation and the world—a worse fate than that which befell Powers.

Rev. King to speak Sept. 6 at Community Church in N.Y.

THE REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING Jr. will speak on "The Rising Tide of Racial Consciousness" at a public meeting, Tuesday, Sept. 6, at 8 p.m., at the Community Church, 40 East 35th St., New York. The meeting will commemorate the "Golden 50th" anniversary of the Urban League. Co-sponsors are more than 50 unions and such organizations as the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Negro Labor Committee, the American Labor Education Assn., and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

Union members are particularly invited to attend. Guest tickets are available free at many local union offices and at the Urban League of Greater New York, 204 W. 136th St. Phone AU 6-8000.

U. S. seeks to deport June Gordon, Emma Lazarus official

THE IMMIGRATION and Naturalization Service on Aug. 6 issued a deportation order against Mrs. June Croll Gordon, executive secretary of the Emma Lazarus Federation of Women's Clubs, an organization devoted to civic improvement and the promotion of Jewish culture. The immigration authorities charged that she had entered the U.S. illegally from Canada in 1928.

Mrs. Gordon denied the charge, as well as the statements by government officials that she had been involved in "disturbances" in several cities. These assertions were not part of the charge, but were appended to it in a story released to the press by government officials. The newspapers which printed them did not call Mrs. Gordon to check on the assertions.

THE BACKGROUND: The charge itself is a technical one. Born in Odessa, in Czarist Russia, Mrs. Gordon was brought to Canada by her parents in 1904, at the age of three. She said she first entered the U.S. legally in 1922 and prior to 1925 became a citizen by marriage to a native born American. After a visit to Canada, she returned to the U.S. in 1928. The government maintains that she did not acquire citizenship at the time of her marriage and that her 1928 entrance was therefore illegal. Her attorney, Mrs. Blanch Freedman, said that the government has no proof of its charges, and that it is the responsibility of the Immigration Service to correct discrepancies in its records, as it has often done in the past in cases similar to Mrs. Gordon's.

Photo by Sydnor

JUNE CROLL GORDON
They never got her side

STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS: In a statement the Emma Lazarus Federation said it would support Mrs. Gordon and praised her for her efforts against anti-Semitism and racial discrimination. It cited her work as secretary of the Anti-Nazi Federation in 1935, when she helped arouse public opinion and promoted action against Nazi atrocities. The Federation, through its president, Mrs. Mollie Ilson, also announced that it would campaign for a statute of limitations amendment to the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act.

Mrs. Gordon is the wife of Eugene Gordon, for several years until 1957 Negro affairs and civil liberties editor of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

BOOKS

Man in a magnolia jungle

HERE IS A BOOK* that defies description. It is unevenly written. It is sketchy. It is filled with profanities. But somehow, reading it, the imperfections slip away. For here we have a glorious, exciting glimpse of a man in the making.

P. D. East was born in the piney woods section of Mississippi. Early in life he was made aware of the differences which exist in the social scene. There was a man who drove a pick-up truck into the lumber camp where P. D. lived. He was a large, fat, dark-skinned man who sold fresh vegetables and fruit. Every week he would give the small boy a banana, and let him ride around the camp with him in the truck, blowing the horn and ringing a bell to attract customers. But one day his mother forbade P. D. to ride with the man again. Her reason was simple. He was a "Dago." When he asked his mother what a "Dago" was, P. D. says: "I shall never forget the answer I got. In simple, plain language, it was this: 'Well, he's just different from us, that's all.'"

Life was rugged and hazardous in a Mississippi lumber camp during the first 30 years of this century. And human life was cheap. P. D. tells of the Negroes who lived on the periphery of the camps. In the long, hot, dusty summers P. D. played with Tee, a Negro child. They tramped the woods together, fished, sailed boats made of sticks in the pond. But Tee could never spend the night with P. D. Again the questions to his mother. "Tee," his mother said, "is a nigger. That's why he can't spend the night, and that's all there is to it." And it was, too. Mrs. East was a kind, generous woman, anxious to help others and quick to do favors. But she, too, was a victim of ignorance. P. D. writes that even today Tee is on his conscience.

THE BOOK RELATES the early school, job and personal failures. They all stemmed from the insecurity of one seeking he knew not what. From early childhood, pain and suffering and the agonies of the soul were his daily companions.

In 1953, P. D. East took over

Milwaukee Journal

Blind Justice

The Petal Paper in Petal, Miss., as a money-making operation. He began with enthusiasm. He joined Kiwanis, shook countless hands, kissed hundreds of babies. The first year was not bad. He even thought of thanking his subscribers and advertisers with a Coke party to celebrate. Then, in 1954, came the Supreme Court decision against segregation in the schools, and it wasn't long before **The Petal Paper** had lost all its local subscribers and most of its advertisers. For in the now famous East Side editorial columns of those stormy days, P. D. East mirrored his own conscience. He says quite simply that he is not concerned with integration or segregation: "The rights of men are my business."

East is a combination of Voltaire, Mark Twain and Will Rogers with a lot of P. D. East thrown in for spice. He has chosen to laugh at and ridicule the social problems besetting his native southland. He refers to Mississippi's senior senator as "james oh eastland, 'Our Jungle Gem'." He says: "A feather is more effective than an elephant gun, unless you're hunting elephants." He frequently editorializes on The Bigger and Better Bigots Bureau and advertises Cotton Eyelet Embroidery, designed especially for summer klan wear. He once advertised 2 x 4's well seasoned in 5-foot lengths—k e r o s e n e furnished with orders of half dozen or more—save on your cross burnings! "How to Build Your Own Cross Kit" free with all orders.

AS REVENUE from **The Petal Paper** dwindled to practically nothing, P. D. had to look elsewhere to supplement his income. During frequent journeys, he met with people interested in how he got that way.

P. D. gives the answer: "I, P. D. East, am a child of God and as such I'm involved with mankind. . . . Nothing is more valuable to me than human life. Inasmuch as I think human life is the highest value we know as mortals, and as I'm a child of God, I feel a pressing obligation to pay for the gift called life. . . . I found no way to pay God for life, except through His other children. Their rights were my concern; also, I never forgot that my own rights were involved with theirs. So to protect them I must protect myself; conversely, the same is true. . . ."

East one day was accused by an irate reader of destroying things. The letter, nasty and unsigned, started P. D. thinking about his convictions. He remembered his childhood dislike of hunting which had carried over into manhood, his dislike of killing things, even a snake in the woods. Pondering how to answer the letter, he writes: "I had an overpowering desire to create. How to make it understood? Somehow it all had to do with my respect, indeed, my reverence for life, no matter what its form. That which lived, that which we call life, is a part of the power, force, or whatever it is we call God, and somehow it seems to matter little that it be in one form, shape or another—all life is a spark of the same source. Somehow, in my mind, creations of and by those who are sparks of the great force are manifestations of that force; therefore, to destroy willfully, without cause or reason, involves that which we call God. To destroy? Never! To build, to create? By all means, yes!"

THE MAGNOLIA JUNGLE may largely be circumscribed by the state of Mississippi. But P. D. East knows that in reality it is boundless: "No matter where I was I seemed to carry my own jungle, of one sort or another, with me. And the first person I'd have to face, should I attempt to escape, would be me. I saw no possible way out of the jungle, and I wondered if indeed the jungle were of my own making. Somehow it mattered little; I knew I could not escape me, no matter what my location or set of circumstances."

Through this saga of one man's journey is the recurring emphasis on the value of human life. And in this spirit P. D. East is finding his answer to life's riddle in his magnolia jungle.

—Marye Myers

**THE MAGNOLIA JUNGLE: The Life, Times and Education of a Southern Editor, by P. D. East. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1960. Cloth, $3.95. 243 pp.*

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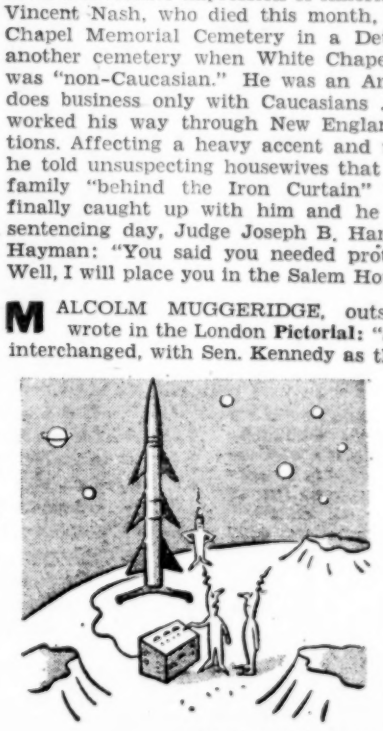
THE GALLERY

GAYLE QUISENBERRY, 23, has been assured by her rental agent in Washington, D.C., that she can continue to occupy her apartment and entertain whomever she pleases. Off hand, this assurance might seem gratuitious, but her relations with her landlord have not always been good. Early this month, Miss Quisenberry, who is white and works at the African-American Institute, invited four African students to a party at her apartment. The students were barred from the building. Later, the agent, H. G. Smithy Co., asked Miss Quisenberry to move. But the company revoked the eviction and sent a letter of apology after the State Dept. intervened. Officials explained that the African students were here on a 60-day visit as part of a State Dept. program designed to "give them a favorable impression of America." . . . The body of George Vincent Nash, who died this month, was dug up from the White Chapel Memorial Cemetery in a Detroit suburb and removed to another cemetery when White Chapel officials learned that Nash was "non-Caucasian." He was an American Indian. The cemetery does business only with Caucasians . . . . Frank O. Hayman, 19, worked his way through New England selling magazine subscriptions. Affecting a heavy accent and using the name Franz Miller, he told unsuspecting housewives that he had to raise $1,000 or his family "behind the Iron Curtain" would be persecuted. Police finally caught up with him and he was convicted of fraud. On sentencing day, Judge Joseph B. Harrington in Salem, Mass., told Hayman: "You said you needed protection from the communists. Well, I will place you in the Salem House of Correction for 90 days."

MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE, outspoken British commentator, wrote in the London **Pictorial:** "Supposing the candidates were interchanged, with Sen. Kennedy as the Republican and Vice President Nixon as the Democrat, would it make any difference? Frankly, I doubt it. Underneath the masks which television requires them to wear, what is there? Perhaps nothing. How strange if universal suffrage democracy, as practiced in the United States, had developed into a contest, not between ideas, nor even between rival flesh-and-blood claimants for the Presidency, but between masks! . . . . I cannot see that it will make the slighest difference to us—or, indeed, to the world in general—which of them gets elected." . . .



Sunday Pictorial, London
"We're sending it all back with a rude note . . . "

Robert Clogher of Holy City, Calif., has thrown his hat into the political arena—along with his coat, pants, socks and all other apparel. He has announced as candidate of the Nudist Party "for a four-year lease on the building at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue." His platform calls for "only the repeal of laws, not the passage of any new ones, starting with the anti-nudist law passed in New York under Al Smith." Clogher has one attribute over other candidates: he can't be accused of having anything up his sleeve.

AS PUNISHMENT FOR FORMING an anti-Semitic group in Queens, Judge James Randall Creel ordered 17-year-old Richard E. Phelps to write an essay on any one of three distinguished Americans of Jewish origin—John Peter Zenger, Colonial printer who fought for freedom of the press; Mordecai Gist, Revolutionary War general, or Robert Moses, New York Commissioner of Parks. "If you need help, come to me," Creel told the delinquent. Phelps needed a lot of help. He learned through the Public Library, Yeshiva University and the Hebrew Union College that neither Zenger nor Gist was Jewish. Moses has refused to discuss his religion, although he has denied reports that he was born a Jew and had become a Catholic or an Episcopalian. But Phelps was saved when Moses told the N.Y. **Post:** "If you are asking me that [if he could be considered an American of Jewish origin]—yes." . . . . Sheriff Louis P. Mountanos has been leading vice raids on children's tree houses in San Rafael, Calif. In one he found pictures of nude women, a wine bottle, beer cans, 33 packs of cigarettes, dice, cards and a list of gambling debts. Another was stocked with supplies stolen from a local parochial school . . . . King Saud is facing a revolt of Saudi Arabian women. By religious and civil law, women must wear black stockings, a veil and an **abayeh,** a black garment extending from head to foot. But recently Saudi Arabian women, posing as foreigners, have been seen on the beach in bikinis. Saud promptly closed the beaches to women. He also decreed that all women, including foreigners, must wear the veil in public. Saud has four wives and 85 concubines in his harem. **—Robert E. Light**

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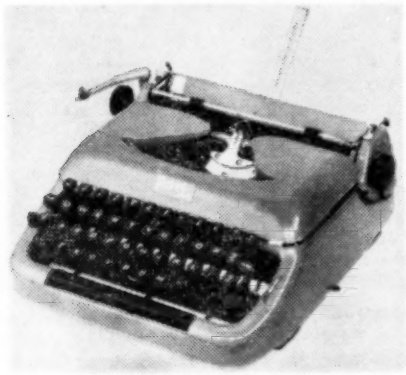

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the SPECTATOR

Hiroshima and love

EVER SINCE THE FILM, Hiroshima, Mon Amour, came to the United States, it has been the subject of passionate discussion. Most workers in the medium admire it almost to the point of idolatry. No spectator will quickly forget its nightmarish scenes—photos and newsreels—of annihilation and torment. None will fail to be moved by its plea for an end to the burning of iron and the erosion of pity. Director Alain Resnais' command of the camera, particularly his use of tracking shots, as in the eye's journey through the Hiroshima museum, merges with the superbly synchronized score of Giovanni Fusco and George Delerue. If the acting of Emmanuele Riva verges at times on hysteria and that of Eiji Okada approaches monotony, this comes about less from their failure than from the limitations of Marguerite Duras' scenario and dialogue. And, perhaps, to a degree, because of Resnais' employment of the cinema as a lyrical rather than dramatic medium.

Yet these are not the film's only defects. This critic was uneasy about its content and found it oppressively maudlin and affected, drenched in self-pity and focussed on individual suffering to the point of obsession.

HOW CAN THERE BE such opposite views of a work which is ostensibly so positive in its approach to life? Can the contradiction be inherent in the conception of both writer and director?

There is almost no plot. A French actress has taken part in a peace film in Hiroshima. Just before her departure for home, she has an affair with a young Japanese architect. A spasm of his hand during sleep reminds her of the death agony of her first lover, 14 years before, a young German soldier killed by a sniper's bullet on the eve of Liberation. The gesture recreates her earlier grief, the ostracism she suffered following the enemy's retreat, her temporary madness and incarceration in the basement of her parents' house in Nevers. She recalls, too, how she was exiled from home, arriving in Paris the day Hiroshima was bombed.

From this point on, past and present loves merge like melodies of a duet, so that it hardly matters whether what happens is remembered now or during the Occupation, seen as a symbol or felt as real

THE PLAYERS: EMMANUELLE RIVA and EIJI OKADA
"You have seen nothing at Hiroshima . . . nothing . . ."

and immediate, heard as a cry of anguish or as a musical motif.

The hair shorn from the young girl's head by her fellow townspeople becomes the hair that falls, lifeless, from the scalp of a bomb victim. As the dying stagger distraught through flames and ruins, so she gnaws at the walls of her icy cellar. Nevers becomes Hiroshima. Now, 14 years later, her love is dying as she relives a former death. More than the last third of the film is taken up with her wandering through the night, alternately drawn to and estranged from the man who has re-awakened her to the anguish of life.

THE STRANGE CHOICE of a German soldier as the object of the woman's litany is, of course, deliberate. It is intended to emphasize the universality and elemental character of sexual love as a warrant of human brotherhood. Historical reality is by-passed in deference to a rhapsodic apology for the sanctity of feeling, irrespective of class, nation, or other distinctions that cause or force men to take sides.

Actually, the audience is tricked, however innocently. The film shows no army of occupation, merely a few shots of a boy in a scarcely identifiable uniform, once waiting at the end of a country lane, once dying in the street. Never a tank, never a firing squad, not even two soldiers. The townspeople are presented only as unfeeling punishers, neither resisting nor bending under the Nazi yoke. It is made to seem normal that the heroine, recapitulating her sorrow, never once feels answerable to her countrymen for having offended them by her liaison. She alone has suffered all. Her Japanese lover's comment—"You have seen nothing at Hiroshima, nothing . . ."—is far truer than he means it to be.

Pathos has, in fact, been stretched to the snapping point in this work which is a conscious rejection of the realist tradition. What is meant to be compassion risks emerging as self-pleading heartlessness. One cannot here evaluate the creators' effort to fuse two unrelated themes: the Proustian co-existence of events set apart in time, and the praise of love and peace. But they have blurred their own intent by ignoring the need for solidarity in "the times that try men's souls."

—Charles Humboldt